

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

PHYSICAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND MORAL QUALITIES

OF OUR

COLORED POPULATION:

WITH REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT OF

EMANCIPATION AND COLONIZATION.

BY EBENEZER BALDWIN.

“*Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto.*”

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PREFACE.

THE following Essay was written several months ago, and before any disgraceful scenes, such as those that have recently occurred, had tarnished the efforts of philanthropy. As it was designed for newspaper publication, it was divided into brief numbers. Although he is aware that it has been too carelessly drawn up to bear the test of criticism as a literary composition, the writer has been reluctant to revise it, lest he might be tempted to infuse into it too much of the feeling that recent events are calculated to produce. In the hope that the historical facts that have been cited in the essay, may have a tendency to direct public attention to some rational mode of elevating the condition of our colored population, the following pages are respectfully submitted for examination.

Numerous examples of Africans, who have overcome the hardships of their lot, and risen to moral and intellectual distinction, might be added to those here presented. To those who may be curious to pursue the subject, the author would particularly commend a well written and judicious essay, by Mrs. Carmichael, five years a resident in St. Vincent and Trinidad, entitled, "Domestic manners and social condition of the white, colored and negro population of the West Indies."

Although the writer has attempted to vindicate the Africans from unjust attempts to depress them in the scale of intelligence, he would deem it an absurd task to discuss the question, whether in all particulars they are equal in mental powers to the whites. There are na-

tional characteristics that distinguish the inhabitants of different countries, although of similar complexion, from each other. Sexes are also thus distinguished. Climate operating as well on the mental as physical frame, has undoubtedly wrought a *difference* between the black and the white man; but this *difference* presents no discouraging objection to the well directed efforts of the benevolent.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

No. I.

In an age peculiarly fruitful in schemes of real as well as plausible benevolence, it is not surprising that the rewards bestowed on those who have devised practical and well digested plans, for advancing the happiness of mankind, should awaken the desires of the envious, or influence the passions of the ambitious. And yet there are limits prescribed to the efforts of benevolence, arising from physical and moral circumstances, that must always be regarded by reformers who hope for ultimate success. With a realizing view of the glorious results of his labors, the discreet philanthropist will not be insensible to the many obstacles that must check his career, and will regulate his measures by prudence, and temper his ardor with discretion. Although benevolent efforts oftener require a spur than a check, there occasionally is exhibited by individuals such an overcharged zeal, as to drive the judicious from the field of action, and bring reproach and disgrace on the wisest schemes for advancing the happiness of man.

Among the most important as well as interesting efforts of the age, may be noticed with undisguised pleasure, the attempt to elevate the character of African slaves; to diffuse among them the lights of science and morals; to pierce through the deep gloom that has for ages overshadowed an abused and benighted race; and with the cheering hope of ultimate emancipation from the double chains that bind the mind in ignorance and the body in servitude, to stimulate them to efforts that shall fit them for a higher destiny, and enable them to take an honorable rank among the nations of the earth. In this matter, liberal and upright men of all political and religious denominations can unite in fellowship. The patriot who regards free-

dom as the greatest earthly blessing, feels a reproof of his professions and principles, when he subjects his fellow man, for mercenary purposes, to the degradation of involuntary servitude ; the religious man, when he questions his conscience, seeks in vain for an approving sentence on him who shrouds in ignorance an immortal soul, and virtually destroys the period of probation vouchsafed in mercy by its creator. The philosopher, who seeks for an explanation of the existence of a general evil, that is alike condemned by patriotism and religion, is compelled to trace it to the worst infirmities that blend in the character of man ; to revenge, that feeds in security on the sufferings of captive enemies,—to lust of power, but feebly checked by the restraints of law,—to love of pleasure and luxurious indolence,—and finally, to greedy avarice, that blunts all moral perceptions of the rights of others. Implanted as these base passions are, in the very constitution of man, it is not surprising that slavery has existed in all ages and in all countries. The condition of bondmen, it is true, has been tempered according to the degree of refinement that has characterized the nations where their lot has been cast ; but the mutual obligation of slave and master has been matter of frequent recognition, both in sacred and profane history. The *Hebrews*, a chosen people of the Almighty, were subjected for ages to the cruelties of Egyptian bondage, and after their miraculous escape to the promised land, as if forgetful of the sufferings they had endured, in their turn made slaves of the conquered Canaanites and their posterity. *Greece* and *Rome*, in their most virtuous as well as degenerate days, allowed the existence of slavery in its severest and most degrading forms. Indeed their great men exhibited in their treatment of slaves, the most revolting examples of human cruelty. *Cato* the elder, is said to have ministered to his mercenary appetite, by hiring out his female slaves for the purpose of prostitution ; *Plutarch*, reputed to be a mild and benevolent philosopher, maintained “that a slave was incapable of understanding any arguments, except stripes and a chain ;” *Demosthenes*, usually the bold and powerful advocate of freedom, considered testimony forced out of a slave by torture, as the best and highest evidence.

But why illustrate a fact so generally known by individual

examples? Every quarter of the globe, no matter whether its inhabitants be of pagan or christian creed, no matter of what complexion, no matter of what grade in civilization and intelligence, is even now subjected in a greater or less degree, to the curse and sin of slavery. In modified forms, it exists in all the nations of Europe, or their tributary colonies. It ministers to the pomp and luxury of voluptuous Asia; the barbarous Turk and the wandering Arab doom their christian captives to the most degrading and abject servitude; the catholics who discovered and conquered the southern continent of America, made slaves of its rightful owners; and the pilgrims, who planted the standard of the cross in the north, did not hesitate to follow the degrading example. The American Indians, also, following the example of those who have seized upon their domains, have carried the children of the pilgrims into captivity, and have also, with greater security, become like them, the masters of African slaves.*

These preliminary remarks have been made, not to palliate the evils of slavery, or to justify its continuance, but to reprove the intemperate zeal of those, who apparently forget that a system that has been permitted in the mysterious ways of providence, to exist among all nations and in all ages, is not to be broken down by rough and violent denunciation, but is to be corrected by the milder influences of reason, education and

* In allusion to this matter, the author of a very interesting work, entitled "An account of the European settlements in America," said to be the celebrated Edmund Burke, makes the following just remarks, in referring to the conduct of Columbus and his companions. "This conquest, (says he, alluding to the subjugation of Hispaniola,) and the subsequent ones made by the several European nations, with as little of right as consciousness of doing any thing wrong, gives one just reason to reflect on the notions entertained by mankind in all times, concerning the right of dominion. At this period, few doubted the power of the pope to convey a full right to any country he was pleased to chalk out; amongst the faithful, because they are subject to the church; and amongst infidels, because it was meritorious to make them subject to it. This notion began to lose ground at the reformation, but another arose of as bad a tendency; the idea of the dominion of grace, which prevailed with several, and the effects of which we have felt amongst ourselves. The Mahometans' great merit is to spread the empire and the faith; and none among them doubt the legality of subduing any nation for these good purposes. The Greeks held that the barbarians were naturally designed to be their slaves; and this was so general a notion, that Aristotle himself, with all his penetration, gave in to it very seriously. In truth it has its principle in human nature, for the generality of mankind very readily slide from what they conceive a fitness for government, to a right of governing; and they agree, that those who are superior in endowments, should only be equal in condition."

religion. The advance of just sentiments and the progress of christian philanthropy, have already mitigated the severity of African slavery, but entire emancipation must be the effect of slow and gradual approaches. If immediate and unqualified emancipation were attempted, the imagination can hardly picture the horrible scenes that would ensue. Servile wars are among the most fearful calamities that have ever visited nations. The salutary regulations that have by common consent been adopted by all civilized countries in their intercourse, as well in war as in peace, have in a great degree mitigated the horrors of their national conflicts; but in servile wars the cup of calamity is of intense and unmixed bitterness. Lust, rapine and vengeance, unrestrained licentiousness that is deified with the name of liberty, the fierce riot of animal passions, impelled by minds shrouded in ignorance, and fruitful only in a rank and luxuriant growth of the most deforming vices, mark the career of self-emancipated slaves; while the unhappy objects of their hatred, are compelled in self defence, and in the protection of every object dear to the affections of man, to meet them as they would unchained tigers, exulting in their new born freedom, and prowling abroad for blood. In such conflicts, there is nothing of "pride, pomp and circumstance," to awaken the ambition of the warrior,—no fields of glory or graves of honor to be consecrated by the historian and the poet. And yet there are men, either so bewildered in intellect, or so reckless in their ambition, as unblushingly to advocate doctrines that tend to such fearful results,—men, who although professing to march under the sacred banner of philanthropy, are yet daily instigating our slave population to the most infamous and horrible crimes,—men who seem to break forth in an impious hallelujah on every fresh instance of a sanguinary insurrection. As the constitution of the nation has recognized slavery as an evil that could not be lopped off by any sudden amputation, and has therefore afforded to it sanction and protection, and as (owing to their ignorance and unfitness to exercise the duties of freemen) every State has, either by its constitution or practice, virtually disfranchised our African population, it might seem unnecessary to combat doctrines that must require a change in the whole system of our federate

government before they can be adopted. But fanatics, that fix their eager gaze only on results, without regarding intermediate measures for their accomplishment, that raise the war cry of equality and unalienable rights in the dens of ignorance, and stimulate brutal passion to a warfare against the good, the wise, and the virtuous, (for many, as pure as Washington, may, even now, be enrolled, like him, among slave holders;) although they may not fully attain their desires, yet are capable of producing dreadful evils both to masters and slaves. They may engender hatred, jealousy, and distrust, producing sullen obedience on the one side and harsh severity on the other,—they may close the avenues to knowledge, by awakening apprehensions in masters, that the same learning that would enable their slaves to peruse the volumes of inspiration, might also be directed to the inflammatory publications of incendiary reformers,—in short, they may embarrass, if not defeat, the only wise and feasible plan that has ever yet been devised for the unfortunate sons of Africa;—gradual colonization in the land of their fathers; with such fostering care in their political infancy, as may enable them to occupy eventually an honorable rank among the moral and intelligent nations of the earth. With regard to this plan, it would hardly have been supposed, that truly benevolent men should have been arranged in hostile attitude against each other, and yet we have rarely seen exhibited more vindictive bitterness, than has been shown by the advocates of immediate emancipation against the friends of colonization. As if education were unnecessary to fit mankind for liberty and self-government, and as if the prejudices arising from difference of complexion were to be suddenly conquered by a legislative act, the infatuated followers of a leading enthusiast are eager to let loose upon our happy country, two millions of slaves, without previous education,—without means of subsistence,—without any stimulants to honorable ambition;—a race vitiated and debased by ages of servitude; the robust, laboring under moral disabilities, and the weak and decrepit superadding physical infirmities. But it is in vain to point out the follies of fanaticism; my intention, when I commenced these remarks, was, to obviate in some measure, an objection urged against the success of the best

directed efforts of the friends of Africa, that they are attempting to elevate those who are by nature inferior to the whites in mental powers and therefore doomed by their Creator to a servile condition. In some future paper I shall cite some examples to prove the fallacy of this doctrine, and close the present by a quotation from an interesting work on the treatment and conversion of African slaves, published in London by the Rev. James Ramsay, in 1784.

The author says: "When Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt, he was under the necessity of training them up to be an independent people, by multiplied forms and strict discipline, for the space of forty years. And it is apparent, from their behavior during this long period, that slavery had so thoroughly debased their minds, as to have rendered them incapable of the exertions necessary for their settlement in the promised land, till all those who had grown up slaves in Egypt, had fallen in the wilderness, and laws and regulations, worthy of a free people, had taken place among them." This is a case full in point, and may suggest hints worthy of the Legislature.

Happily, in an altered state of society, and under more benevolent auspices, and especially under the protecting care already signally vouchsafed by Providence in advancing the prosperity of Liberia, our African population may hope for emancipation without experiencing the calamities that beset the children of Israel.

No. II.

Having, in a preceding brief essay, adverted to the early commencement of slavery and its existence among all nations at different periods of their histories, it was stated to be the intention of the writer, to present in a future paper, some historical facts in relation to the capacity of Africans for intellectual culture. It has often been stated by intelligent men, that it was impossible to elevate that unfortunate race to a respectable rank among civilized nations—that they were formed by their Creator to occupy a secondary grade in the human family, and destined, from their limited mental powers, to servile stations.

This sentiment has not only been cherished by mercenary slave holders, and those who were interested in the unholy traffic, that is now, by the consent of civilized nations, pronounced piracy, but by disinterested men of reputed benevolence, who have formed a hasty opinion of a whole race, by surveying the conditions of those, who having for ages been suffering under task masters, exhibit in their characters the debasing influence of ignorance, vice and hopeless servitude. Singular and unjust reasoning! that would thus palliate the continuance of cruelty, because past infliction had deadened the sensibilities and paralyzed the energies of its victims! Probably the intellectual powers sink more rapidly than mere animal strength under the influence of slavery, as, were it even possible for slaves to procure the means of mental improvement, knowledge would be comparatively useless to those, who are regulated by the caprice of others, and an increase of intelligence would only embitter their existence, by enabling them to realize with more acute perception, the extent of their calamity and the hopelessness of their lot. Hence it is, that even educated Christians, who are made captives by barbarous and pagan nations, either sink into imbecility, or seek a relief from suffering, by an abjuration of their religion. Probably after the influence of slavery has thoroughly tainted its victims, neither the circumstance of national birth, or of parentage, or of complexion, will furnish any means of moral or intellectual classification.

Those who believe in the scriptural history, must admit that all mankind are kindred, and of a common parentage, as well in their descent from Adam as in their equal degree of relationship to Noah. It is true that some philosophers have attempted to account for the apparently different species of mankind, without denying the existence of the deluge, by supposing that it was not general, but bounded by the visible horizon, and therefore did not in reality overwhelm all nations and tribes. If this unsupported and fanciful hypothesis was true, it might prove too much, as it would appear that the colored inhabitants of the earth were in those days more virtuous and deserving of divine favor than the whites, and that while the latter were swept from the earth for their abominations, the former

were mercifully preserved. But without dwelling further on this idle speculation, it may be remarked, that we have no proof but that Adam and Noah were both colored men;* an analogy to the brute creation would certainly favor the idea, as comparatively but few animals are white. Living as they both did, in warm climates, Adam for nine hundred and thirty years, and Noah for nine hundred and fifty, it is certain, if the doctrine be true that color is the effect of climate, that even if white in infancy, they must have been dark colored in their latter years. The late learned Doctor Smith, of Nassau College, in an ingenious essay, has attempted to prove that a visible alteration had taken place in the complexions of our slave population since their African ancestors were brought to America, and that after the lapse of a few more ages the change will be radical and complete. Be this as it may, it is certainly a matter of more important desire to the philanthro-

* With regard to prejudice arising from difference of complexion, it is remarkable that it has existed from the remotest ages. One scriptural passage illustrative of the subject, is too interesting, in connection with this essay, to be omitted. In the "Song of Solomon," intended to express, according to the uniform opinion of commentators, the perfect love existing between the Saviour and his church, by "allegories and parables," Jesus Christ is represented under the similitude of a bridegroom, and the church as his bride. In confessing her defects, the bride says:

"I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon."

"Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me: my mother's children were angry with me; they made me the keeper of the vineyard; but my own vineyard have I not kept. Chap. i. v. 5, 6.

In a subsequent description of Christ by his graces, it is said:

"My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand."

"His head is as the most fine gold, his locks are bushy and black as a raven."

"His eyes are as the eyes of doves by the rivers of waters, washed with milk, and fitly set," &c. Chap. v. v. 10, 11, 12.

Although the language used in the above and other similar descriptive passages of the song are allegorical, yet be to apposite, and forcible, they must have been suited to the prevailing opinions and taste of the age. Three inferences may be derived from them:

1st. That prejudices existed against colored people during the age of Solomon. 2d. That color or complexion is the effect of climate. 3d. That the Saviour was, in his human form, white. If the latter inference is correct, a divine of some celebrity in a neighboring state, has not only violated popular feeling, respecting the appearance of the Saviour in his incarnation, but has violated Scriptural testimony in advancing his idle speculations. Indeed, so far as the outward appearance of the Saviour in his human form is concerned, we have the authority of Publius, the Roman Proconsul of Judea, for believing, that it was remarkable for purity and whiteness of skin, blue eyes, flowing hair, &c. Historical painters who have employed their pencils on sacred subjects, have adopted the minute description of Publius as their guide, in exhibiting the features of the Saviour.

pist, that the dark cloud which overshadows their minds should be dissipated, and that the day spring of intellectual light should beam on their benighted vision, than that any alteration should be wrought in their physical appearance. Besides, the standard of beauty is somewhat capricious and arbitrary, and from the milk white Albino to the dark skinned Ethiopian, there is no shade of color that has not its advocates. It is probable that Hannibal, who carried terror to the gates of Rome, was a colored chief, and that even Dido, the Carthaginian queen, whose charms for a while seduced Æneas from the path of duty, bore the characteristic marks of African descent. The scattered tribes of Israel are of all hues, though of unmixed blood and a kindred race. But leaving the consideration of mere color, are there any other physical properties that mark the negro as inferior to the white? They have not flowing locks, nor yet the golden or red hair that rendered the Grecian beauties so conspicuous,—they have not Roman noses, but they have dark rolling eyes that an Italian might envy,—they do not, by artificial pressure, flatten their heads like some tribes of Indians, or slit their ears and noses, and ornament the hanging cartilage with rings and colored quills, nor squeeze their feet into the size of nut cakes, like the Chinese women, those daughters of the celestial empire ;—they do not compress their forms into the shape of an hour glass, injuring the spine and destroying bodily strength, like European and American ladies ; it is presumed they rarely wear wigs or artificial curls, and never have occasion for false teeth ; these and a thousand other fashions that are found in more civilized and polished countries, the Africans do not follow in their native land, although in a state of slavery many are found emulous of imitation. But notwithstanding their deficiencies in these particulars, Africans seem at least equal, according to their advantages, to the whites. It has often been remarked, that in our elementary schools, where, as is often the case, one or two colored children are found in the list of pupils, they generally take a good rank as scholars, and are favorite leaders of their companions in all their amusements. Whether this influence is to be traced to the earlier ripening of African intellect, or to other causes, I do not know ; but its existence certainly shows

that repugnance to Africans arises from the prejudices of education rather than from natural antipathy. As the time allowed them for learning is very limited, we have not the means of judging as to their capacity for protracted improvement. It is certainly unjust to pass judgment on the intellectual powers of a nation that is suffering under the severest visitations of the Almighty. Could one of the children of Israel (that chosen and favored nation) who was gathered to his fathers, when his country, in the pride of wealth and consciousness of physical and intellectual greatness, looked down with contemptuous pride on the Gentile world, awake from the sleep of the grave, would he recognize in the dispersed and degraded wanderers of those powerful tribes, the descendants of Judea ? Would a Roman senator trace any lineaments of his illustrious countrymen, in enervated and voluptuous Italy,—its inhabitants sunk in superstition, the mere showmen of the ruins of ancient glory, and traffickers in the mutilated memorials of ancient taste ? Would a Lacedemonian, or a Spartan, or an Athenian, find in the debased slaves of Turkish cruelty, in a second race of Helots, the descendants of enlightened and powerful Greece ? How would the Egyptian mourn over the vanity of human glory, when he beheld only a few scattered Mamelukes and wandering Arabs, listlessly reposing in the shadow of the pyramids ? If such be the mutations of empires—if such the fate of the most enlightened nations, is not philanthropy taught the impressive lesson, that degradation is not proof of incapacity, and that well directed benevolence may repair the ravages of misfortune and crime ? In ancient days, Africa could boast of arts and science, of opulent cities, and powerful empires ; and is it not worthy of Christian zeal, to gather the remnants of an unfortunate race, to enlighten and purify their minds, to plant them in the distant habitations of their fathers, and under the influence of benignant laws and a pure religion, to elevate them to substantial and permanent national happiness. In this way, and in this way only, can christendom in a measure atone for her criminal participation in the injustice done to Africa. But the querulous sceptic may still cry out, give us some proof, that Africans are capable of being elevated in rank ; cite instances of their having overcome the hard-

ships of their lot, and exhibited examples of elevated virtues or bright talents. Protesting against the propriety of the call, under the circumstances in which Africans are placed, and contending that the burthen of proof ought justly to be imposed on those who assert their natural incompetency, some few examples will be stated to support the opinions that have been advanced. If I mistake not greatly in my estimate of African capacity, the sentiment of Terence expressed with singular beauty and pathos, will be found to be strictly correct. "Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto." When these words were uttered in a Roman theatre, we are informed, that "plaudits were reiterated, and the audience, though composed of foreigners, conquered nations, aliens, and citizens of Rome, were unanimous in applauding the poet, who spoke with such elegance and simplicity, the language of nature, and supported the native independence of man." And yet this same Terence was an African slave, educated by a kind master, and who attained such eminence as a writer of comedies, that although he died at an early age, Quintilian, one of the best critics of classical literature, does not hesitate to declare, that "he was the most elegant and refined of all the comedians whose writings appeared on the stage."

This subject will be continued in a future number.

No. III.

In citing a few recorded facts, in proof of the correctness of the sentiment of Terence, quoted in my last number, in its application to Africans, I shall rather confine myself to the moral and intellectual, than the physical properties of man. Were it necessary to prove an equality of bodily powers as illustrative of mental equality, the arduous labor performed by African slaves, though suffering under the pressure of dejected spirits, coarse diet, and scanty clothing, would seem to furnish sufficient evidence. But it cannot be supposed that the fearless hunters, who in their native land attack the lion in his rage and rouse the tiger from his lair, are deficient in physical energy. In the only field, where the vitiated taste of England has ena-

bled them to contend on equal terms with white men, (I allude to pugilistic combats,) the celebrated *Pierce Egan*, the chronicler of the ring, has assigned them the honor of establishing a new era in the art, which he designates as the “*sable school*” of pugilism. The champions of this school, or as they are classically styled, the “*Tria Lumina*,” were *Richmond*, *Molineaux*, and *Sutton*, of whom it may be observed in this connection, that *Richmond* was a native of Staten Island, New York, and slave of the *Rev. Mr. Charleton* of that place, *Molineaux* belonged to the *Cuyler* family at Greenbush, in the same state, and that the birth place and early condition of *Sutton* are unknown. But perhaps enough has been said of the physical properties of Africans;—let us view them in their nobler capacities. Our illustrations will be principally of American extract.

POETRY.

Although the highest efforts of poetry must be the result of education and refinement, and but little inclination for the exercise of the imagination and fancy, is felt by those who are bowed down by servitude and oppression, the African slave may point to at least one minstrel of his nation who did not despondingly hang her harp upon the willows, but solaced the weariness of captivity by the cultivation of the muse. It need hardly be added that allusion is made to *Phillis* the negro slave of *John Wheatley*, of *Boston*. “*Phillis* was brought from *Africa* to *America* in the year 1761, being then between seven and eight years of age.” Her schooling was confined to the domestic teaching of her master’s family, and yet so rapid was her advance in learning, that she not only became soon acquainted with the usual branches of an English education, but had made progress in the Latin tongue, and had rendered herself somewhat familiar with the ancient classics. In her nineteenth year she published, at the urgent request of her friends, a small volume of her poems. A certificate as to her talents and ability as a writer, signed by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and principal men, both civil and ecclesiastical, of the colony, accompanied the work, lest the incredulous

might feel inclined to doubt its authorship. It attracted much public attention and has passed through several editions. The versification of Phillis is easy and graceful, her imagery appropriate, and her sentiments refined. It may be said by some, that a single example cannot prove a rule, and that Phillis falls within the satirical remark of Ovid,

“ *Rara avis in terris et simillima nigro cygno,*”

to which I shall content myself by replying, that until a white girl, laboring under the like embarrassments, is pointed out, who has written at the same age as much and as good poetry as Phillis, I shall claim a verdict on her testimony alone. This gifted female married a man of her own color, and died in the year 1780, at the age of thirty-one years.* I close this notice with a copy of a letter addressed to her by General Washington, taken from Mr. Spark’s valuable collection of the political and private correspondence of that great man. It does equal honor to the benevolence of his feelings, and to the character of Phillis.

“ **TO MISS PHILLIS WHEATLEY.**

“ *Cambridge, 28th February, 1776.*

“ **MISS PHILLIS,—**

“ Your favor of the 26th of October, did not reach my hands till the middle of December. Time enough you will say, to have given you an answer ere this. Granted. But a variety of important occurrences continually interposing, to distract the mind and withdraw the attention, I hope will apologize for the delay, and plead my excuse for the seeming but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed; and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents; in honor of which, and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not been apprehensive, that,

* It is said by some writers that the husband of Phillis was altogether unworthy of her, and that she died of a broken heart; he was however possessed of talents, having been successively engaged in the business of a grocer and lawyer, in which latter occupation he was known as Doctor Peter, and by his efforts in the courts in behalf of his brethren, is said to have acquired a fortune.

while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This, and nothing else, determined me not to give it place in the public prints.*

"If you can come to Cambridge, or near head quarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favored by the muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations. I am, with great respect, your obedient humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON."

An additional proof of the estimation in which the talents of Phillis were held by learned contemporaries, may be derived from the correspondence of the Rev. J—— Lathrop, a distinguished clergyman of Boston, who married a daughter of her mistress, Mrs. Wheatley. In a manuscript letter now in the possession of the writer, addressed to a clerical friend in Connecticut, bearing date "Boston Aug. 14, 1773," he thus speaks of Phillis, in reply to some remarks of his friend. "Yes Sir, the famous negro poet, Phillis, is a servant of Mrs. Lathrop's mother: she is indeed a singular genius. Mrs. Lathrop taught her to read, and by seeing others use the pen, she learned to write: she early discovered a turn for poetry, and being indulged to read and furnish her mind, she does now, and will, if she lives, make a considerable figure in the poetical way. She is now in London with my Lady Huntington, &c. I wish her going to England may do her no hurt."

We have observed a notice in the American Museum, that a negro man named Cesar, of North Carolina, was the author of a collection of poems that were published. It is said that they attained a popularity "like those of Bloomfield." We have never seen them, but presume from the comparison, that they were characterized by simplicity, purity and natural grace.

MUSIC AND PAINTING.

The remarks made respecting poetry will apply with equal propriety to all ornamental branches of learning, as even if

* Although Gen. Washington was restrained by motives of delicacy from printing this address, it found its way to the public through some other agency, shortly after it was presented. It can be found in the Philadelphia Magazine. The circumstance is noted, as it has not appeared in any edition of the works of Phillis, and is well worthy of perusal.

taste and genius were possessed in a high degree, the advantages of culture would be incompatible with a state of servitude. Among the poems of Phillis Wheatley, is one addressed to "S. M. a young African painter," who appears also, from the following extract, to have united to his skill as an artist, the gift of poetry.

" Still, wond'rous youth ! each noble path pursue ;
 On deathless glories fix thine ardent view :
 Still may the painter's and the poet's fire,
 To aid thy pencil and thy verse conspire !"

In music, it is believed that Africans have exhibited more decided marks of general or national taste than exists among the whites. It is true they have but little of the artificial skill that is found at an Italian opera, and therefore would not be highly acceptable in their performances, to amateurs of such cultivated sensibility as can only be gratified by unnatural sounds, of difficult modulation, uttered in an unknown tongue. Still they have almost individually a correct ear, and a just and discriminating perception of the powers of music. The rudest of them, without teaching, whistle, and sing, and play on the jews-harp and banjo, and with a little practice master that difficult instrument, the violin. With the advantages of instruction, they have formed many superior bands, and are much patronized for their, skill in our larger cities. Their vocal powers have not been so fully developed by education, but I have understood that the late Doctor Strong, of Hartford, encouraged the colored members of his congregation to learn church music on correct principles, and that they attained to distinguished excellence as singers.

PROFESSIONS OF LAW, MEDICINE, AND DIVINITY.

As the condition of a slave population excludes them from any participation in the administration or exposition of the laws, or the regular practice of the healing art, we shall content ourselves with some brief remarks on the capacity of Africans for the performance of clerical duties. Two or three brothers of the name of Paul, have for several years maintained a respectable rank in the desk, and the Rev. Mr. Haines, a colored man, was for many years the faithful pastor of the

Presbyterian church in Manchester, Vermont, composed of a society among the most respectable and intelligent in the state. Mr. Haines, in his printed sermons, has evinced evidence of his talents as a good writer, close reasoner and an able theologian. Similar examples under this division of our essay might be greatly multiplied, but it may be sufficient to remark, that the services of our African churches are generally conducted by colored teachers with singular correctness and propriety. As to their capacity for religious attainments, I will quote an anecdote related of the amiable and learned Doctor Stiles, formerly president of Yale College. He had in his employ a freedman, formerly his slave, by the name of Newport, who must doubtless be well remembered by many of our citizens. As the Doctor "was returning from the chapel, on a Lord's day, after the communion, not long before his death, seeing this domestic walking home from the same sacred service, 'There,' said he, 'is Newport; if he dies as he has lived, I would rather die Newport, than Aurengzebe.' "

Since writing the preceding remarks, an account of James Derham, originally a slave in Philadelphia, but subsequently purchased by a physician in New Orleans, has attracted our notice. His master in New Orleans was Doctor Robert Dove, under whose fostering care he became familiar with several languages, speaking with facility, English, French and Spanish. It is said that at the age of twenty-one years, "he became the most distinguished physician at New Orleans." Doctor Rush says that "he conversed with him on medicine, and found him very learned. I thought I could give him information concerning the treatment of diseases, but I learned more from him than he could expect from me."

Buchan, in his Domestic Medicine, (Hartford edition, 1799, page 540,) after giving directions for the preparation of a remedy said to be effectual for the bite of a rattle-snake, makes this remark: "We give this upon the faith of Dr. Brooks, who says it was the invention of a negro; for the discovery of which he had his freedom purchased, and a hundred pounds *per annum* settled upon him during life, by the General Assembly of Carolina." This reward, we may add, was certainly as

well applied, as was the sum of a thousand dollars, appropriated a few years ago, by the enlightened Legislature of New York, to purchase of a white German Doctor, by the name of Crouse, commonly called, "the mat tog toctor," his secret remedy for the hydrophobia, which, on being disclosed and filed in the public archives, was found to consist, of "the filings of a Queen-Ann's copper dissolved in acid, a false tongue of a colt, sundry wild plants, gathered with special regard to dew and moon, together with other witch compounds, that have escaped recollection.

No. IV.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY AND MATHEMATICS.

Adhering to the plan originally stated, of elucidating our subject by examples chiefly derived from American sources, we shall content ourselves by citing under this branch of inquiry, only two remarkable instances of African talents.

In the American Museum, published several years ago by Matthew Carey, in Philadelphia, an interesting account, attributed to Doctor Rush, was published of Thomas Fuller, an African by birth, who resided near Alexandria in Virginia. An obituary notice of him was subsequently published, which was perused by the writer a few days ago, but as he does not distinctly recollect in what file of papers he observed it, he quotes from memory some of the particulars. Fuller was remarkable for accuracy and quickness in the solution of mathematical questions, and as he could neither read nor write, he depended solely on a system of mental arithmetic of his own invention, in his calculations. His results were accurate and were produced as rapidly as those of Mr. Zerah Colburn; it is probable by the same process, although he was unable to explain it, nor has Mr. Colburn rendered the matter very intelligible to all. It is said that Fuller, after learning the powers of numbers, commenced his self-education, by counting the hairs on the tail of a horse that was his companion in field labor. He soon devised some new process, by which the time occupi-

ed in usual modes of calculation could be shortened, and in the end attained such skill and accuracy, as to solve the most difficult questions. Among others that were propounded to him, it is said that he was asked "how many seconds of time had elapsed since the birth of an individual, who had lived seventy years, seven months and as many days?" In a minute and a half he answered the question. After a long calculation with the pen one of his interrogators pretended that Fuller was inaccurate. "No," replied Fuller, "the error is on your side, for you have forgotten the leap years," which proved to be the case. He was at that time seventy years of age. My belief is that he died in or near Richmond, in Virginia, and that he was the same colored man of whom it was said in an obituary notice, that he could solve the most difficult questions in relation to time, distance or measurement, and that so tenacious was his memory that he multiplied, during one of his examinations, the figure seven by itself and its successive products by each other seven times. One remarkable fact is added, which proves the singular strength of his memory;—that when interrupted during the progress of a long and difficult calculation, by having his attention directed to other matters, he was able to resume his work at the place where he left off, without commencing anew.

Having thus briefly noticed the mathematical talents of Thomas Fuller, we will endeavor to do better justice to Benjamin Banniker, by the re-publication of his very interesting letter to Mr. Jefferson, when Secretary of State, and the handsome reply of that gentleman. The two letters may be found in the Virginia Gazette, and also in the Connecticut Journal of 1792.

" MARYLAND, BALTIMORE COUNTY,
Near Ellicott's lower Mills, Aug. 1791. }

"To Thomas Jefferson, Esq.

"SIR,—I am fully convinced of the greatness of that freedom which I take with you on the present occasion: a liberty which seemed to me scarcely allowable, when I reflected on that distinguished and dignified station in which you stand; and the almost general prejudice and prepossession which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion.

“ I suppose it is a truth too well attested to you, to need a proof, that we are a race of beings who have long labored under the abuse and censure of the world, that we have long been looked upon with an eye of contempt ; considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.

“ I hope I may safely admit, in consequence of that report, which hath reached me, that you are a man far less inflexible in sentiments of this nature, than many others, that you are measureably friendly and well disposed towards us, and that you are willing and ready to lend your aid and assistance to our relief from those many distresses and numerous calamities to which we are reduced.

“ Now, sir, if this be founded in truth, I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity, to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevail in respect to us, and that your sentiments are concurrent with mine, which are, that one universal Father hath given being to us all, and that he hath not only made us of one flesh, but that he hath also, without partiality, afforded us all the same sensations, and endued us all with the same faculties, and that however variable we may be, in society or religion, however diversified in situation or color, we are all of the same family, and stand in the same relation to him.

“ If these are sentiments of which you are fully persuaded, I hope you cannot but acknowledge, that it is the indispensable duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who profess the obligations of Christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burthen or oppression they may unjustly labor under, and this I apprehend a full conviction of the truth and obligation to these principles should lead us all to.

“ Sir, I have long been convinced, that if your love for yourselves, and those inestimable laws which preserve to you the rights of human nature, was founded on sincerity, you could not but be solicitous, that every individual, of whatever rank or distinction, might with you equally enjoy the blessings thereof ; neither could you rest satisfied, short of the most active

diffusion of your exertions, in order to their promotion from any state of degradation to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarism of men may have reduced them.

“ I freely and cheerfully acknowledge, that I am of the African race, and in that color which is natural to them of the deepest dye, and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, that I now confess to you, that I am not under that state of tyrannical thralldom and inhuman captivity, to which too many of my brethren are doomed, but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings which proceed from that free and unqualified liberty with which you are favored, and which I hope you will willingly allow you have received from the immediate hand of that Being from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

“ Suffer me to call to your mind that time, in which the arms and tyranny of the British crown were exerted with every powerful effort, in order to reduce you to a state of servitude; look back, I entreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were exposed; reflect on the time in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict; and you cannot but be led to a serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation; you cannot but acknowledge, that the present freedom and tranquillity which you enjoy, you have mercifully received, and that it is the peculiar blessing of Heaven.

“ This, sir, was a time, when you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of slavery, and in which you had just apprehensions of the horrors of its condition. It was now that your abhorrence thereof was so excited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be remembered in all succeeding ages: ‘ We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’

“ Here was a time in which your tender feelings for yourselves had engaged you thus to declare, you were then impressed with proper ideas of the great violation of liberty, and the free possession of those blessings to which you were entitled

by nature ; but sir, how pitiable it is to reflect, that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of those rights and privileges which he had conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren under groaning captivity and cruel oppression ; that you should at the same time be found guilty of that most criminal act, which you professedly detested in others, with respect to yourselves.

“ I suppose that your knowledge of the situation of my brethren is too extensive to need a recital here ; neither shall I presume to prescribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwise than by recommending to you and all others, to wean yourselves from those narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with respect to them, and as Job proposed to his friends, ‘ put your soul in their soul’s stead ; ’ thus shall your hearts be enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards them, and thus shall you need neither the direction of myself or others in what manner to proceed herein.

“ And now, sir, although my sympathy and affection for my brethren hath caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope that your candor and generosity will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you, that it was not originally my design ; but having taken up my pen in order to direct to you as a present, a copy of an Almanac, which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.

“ This calculation is the production of my arduous study in this my advanced stage of life, (fifty-nine;) for having long had unbounded desires to become acquainted with the secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity herein through my own assiduous application to astronomical study, in which I need not recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages which I have had to encounter.

“ And although I had almost declined to make my calculation for the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefor being taken up at the Federal Territory by the request of Mr. Andrew Ellicott, yet finding myself under

several engagements to printers of this state, to whom I had communicated my design, on my return to my place of residence, I industriously applied myself thereto, which I hope I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy, a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you, and which I humbly request you will favorably receive, and although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I choose to send it to you in manuscript previous thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own hand-writing.

“And now, sir, I shall conclude, and subscribe myself, with the most profound respect, your most obedient, humble servant,

BENJAMIN BANNIKER.”

The following is the admirable reply of Mr. Jefferson, evincing the zeal of a generous philanthropy, tempered with the prudence and justice, befitting a statesman.

“ TO MR. BENJAMIN BANNIKER.

“ *Philadelphia, August 30, 1791.*

“ **SIR**,—I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th inst. and for the Almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do, to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence both in Africa and America. I can add with truth, that nobody wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and minds to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be overlooked, will admit.

“ I have taken the liberty of sending your almanac to Mons. de Condozette, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it as a document to which your whole color had a right for their justification, against the documents which have been entertained of them.

“ I am, with great esteem, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.”

This letter certainly does not support the declarations of H. Gregoire and Imlay, that Mr. Jefferson entertained strong prejudices and very erroneous opinions in regard to negroes. Experience and reflection may have changed sentiments that influenced him in early life, but no statesman was ever more singularly defeated in his endeavors to give a public and official expression of his views on great national subjects affecting their interests. I allude to two memorable occasions. In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence prepared by Mr. Jefferson, and presented to Congress for approval, are contained these memorable words ;—in alluding to the oppressive acts of the British monarch, he says, “ He has waged war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery, in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of a christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce ; and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them ; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.”

These forcible expressions were stricken out by Congress from prudential motives, as they felt bound to regard in those perilous times, not only the just sentiments but the conflicting prejudices of the people. The principles of Mr. Jefferson, however, remained unaltered, and in the year 1784, “ being appointed chairman of a committee, to which was assigned the task of forming a plan for the temporary government of the Western Territory, he introduced into it the following clause : ‘ That after the year 1800 of the Christian æra, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof

the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty.'" When the report of the committee was presented to Congress, these words were struck out. The above remarkable facts are stated in the biography of Mr. Jefferson, inserted in Sanderson's Lives of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. They fully justify the comment of his biographer, who eulogizes his philanthropy, "in the delineation of the character, the fidelity, the kindly feelings of the enslaved negro race, whose champion he had ever been, alike in the times of colonial subjection, and of established freedom."

But in defending the character of Mr. Jefferson from the erroneous though undoubtedly honest attacks of some respectable writers, I have been perhaps in some measure led astray from my purpose and dwelt too long on the subject.

If disposed to vindicate African capacity, for mathematical and philosophical pursuits, by passing beyond the examples already quoted, I should feel much inclined to copy in full an interesting account given by Mr. Gregoire of *Anthony William Ano*, who was born in Guinea and educated in Germany. The following summary may suffice. "Ano was skilled in the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and delivered profound and learned lectures on philosophy." The university of Wittemberg were so impressed with a sense of "his good conduct and talents," that they gave "a public testimony of these in a letter of felicitation." He is named in a letter addressed to him by the President, "*Vir nobillisime et clarissime.*" He was subsequently appointed a professor. That Ano was influenced by no false shame in regard to his origin and color, is manifest from the manner in which he designates himself in the title pages of his several publications,—"*Autor Ant. Guil. Ano, Guinea—afer.*" This learned man eventually received the highest literary honor and was created a Doctor of Laws,—a distinction in his case, based on merit, creditable to the German university that awarded it, and presenting an example, an imitation of which, in conferring diplomas, would not disparage the cautious practice and sound discrimination of *the oldest and best endowed* of our American colleges.

No. V.

PATRIOTISM, OR LOVE OF COUNTRY.

Singular as it may appear, the virtue of patriotism has been strikingly manifested by Africans, and the history of the American republic, exhibits frequent instances of their aid, in achieving our independence, and of their fearlessness in sustaining the rights of those who had deprived them of freedom. In Doctor Snow's History of Boston, a very interesting account is given of the particulars of the "Boston massacre," which occurred on the 5th of March, 1770; an event justly considered as among the most striking of those acts of British tyranny that led to American emancipation, and which for many successive years was celebrated with appropriate public ceremonies. The victims of the soldiery on that occasion, (exclusive of the wounded,) were Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, James Caldwell, Samuel Maverick and Patrick Carr. "The funeral solemnities, (says Doctor Snow,) which took place on Thursday the 8th, brought together the greatest concourse, that probably had ever assembled in America on one occasion. Attucks, who was a friendless mulatto, and Caldwell, who also was a stranger, were borne from FANUEL HALL; Maverick, who was about seventeen years old, from his mother's house in Union street, and Gray from his brother's in Royal Exchange lane. The four hearses formed a junction in King-street, and thence the procession marched in columns of six deep through the main street to the middle burial ground, where the four victims were deposited in one grave."

Whatever distinction of rank might have existed in life, the same honorable resting place received the remains of the black man and the white.

At the battle of Bunker's Hill, Lieutenant Thomas Grosvenor, of Pomfret, Connecticut, (in after life known as the Honorable Judge Grosvenor,) was accompanied to the field of action, by a faithful black servant, who gallantly fought by the side of his master in the hottest part of that bloody conflict. Col. Trumbull has enriched his historical painting of the scene, by a notice of this incident.

In a statement of the gallant exploit of *Lieutenant Colonel Barton*, (of late years better known as *General Barton*, who was relieved in his old age from a long imprisonment for debt, by the generosity of Gen. La Fayette,) in the capture of Major General Prescott in Rhode Island ; we are informed that the Colonel provided himself with forty picked soldiers, among whom was a negro man named Tom. After passing the guard boats and sentinels, the party approached the sleeping apartment of Gen. Prescott, the door of which they found locked. This circumstance might have defeated an enterprise that required rapid action to insure success. The colored man however, using his head, as the Doctor says, "like a battering ram," broke through the door, and personally seized the General in bed. Col. Barton had a sword presented to him and was much applauded for the success of this gallant affair ; we presume that the colored soldier did not fail to share in the rewards bestowed on the party. His phrenological experiment is certainly calculated to bring distrust on the opinions of Gall and Spurzheim, who have expressed themselves in no very favorable terms as to African powers.

Numerous instances might be quoted of the fidelity and courage displayed by negroes during the revolutionary war, but the very fact that the southern section of the country, where slaves were the most numerous, was for several years the theatre of military campaigns, and that the slaves resisted in so great a degree, the temptations of the enemy to join their standard, presents in itself a noble eulogium. In New England, where their limited numbers obviated any objections arising from prudential considerations, to employing them as soldiers, a battalion of colored men was enlisted for continental service, principally composed of Connecticut and Rhode Island negroes. It was commanded, I think, by Col. Olney. I am not particularly familiar with the military history of the corps. In an expedition, however, undertaken at the close of the war, (and in truth after the preliminaries to the treaty of peace had been signed in Europe, but not promulgated in America,) of which Col. Marinus Willett was commander, against Fort Oswego, a considerable part of the African corps was employed. The enterprise was undertaken during the winter months

and was extremely severe and disastrous in its result. A witness of their sufferings has informed the writer, that when the surviving troops returned to the Hudson river, many were suffering from the effects of frost, and that amputations of limbs became necessary. From their peculiar sensibility to the influence of severe cold, the colored troops bore a large share of the calamities of the expedition. It thus appears that as well in the opening as the closing scene of the American revolution, African blood was freely poured out, and mingled with that of the more favored white man on the altar of liberty.

I should not omit, in alluding to revolutionary events, to notice the company of Africans attached to Meigs' regiment raised for continental service in New Haven and its vicinity, and commanded by Captain David Humphreys, afterwards aid to General Washington, and in later life ambassador to the courts of Portugal and Spain. The regiment, to which this company was attached, was one of the most efficient in the continental line, and several of the colored soldiers are still living. It has been mentioned to me by a gentleman, who was an officer of the New Haven Bank, when it had charge of the distribution of pensions, that the correct deportment and good appearance of the colored pensioners was a matter of frequent notice and remark, by all those attached to the institution.

Since the revolutionary war, many colored sailors have been employed both in the merchant service, and in the armed ships of the government, although the embarrassments growing out of mixed crews and the local regulations of some ports, have of late diminished their number. A memorable instance of their intrepidity and good conduct in battle, was furnished in the glorious fleet engagement and victory of Com. Mc Donough, on Lake Champlain. One of the American ships engaged in that important battle, was chiefly manned by colored sailors, and it is sufficient to add, was fought with a skill and bravery worthy of the glory of the day.

But I will not amplify more on the courage or patriotism of Africans, unless the following illustration may be ranked under one or both of these heads. The writer was some years ago making inquiries of Mr. Granville, a colored man, charged with a diplomatic agency from the republic of Hayti to our

government, concerning the condition of his country and the character of its chief, and casually observed that he had seen some officers of the Privateer *Vengeance* that was captured and brought into New London by the United States sloop of war *Trumbull*. "Then," replied Mr. Granville, "you have probably seen President Boyer, as he was first Lieutenant of the *Vengeance*."

As I did not intend to resort to apocryphal testimony to support my opinions, I have referred to no example of African compliance with the code of chivalry adopted by many fashionable white men in the settlement of private differences. Perhaps, however, as a nice sense of honor may be esteemed by some, as more clearly manifested therein, than by the rendition of the most faithful and perilous service to one's country, I will remark, that the first duel in New England was fought by two colored servants with a long sword and dirk. For the choice of these unequal weapons the combatants cast lots. This violation of rigid puritanical regulations was punished, as the historians of the event inform us, by tying the combatants together by the neck and heels, in which amicable position they were ordered to lie for twenty-four hours, or until a reconciliation should take place. It was, I believe, the beginning and the ending of African imitation in that particular branch of fashion and refinement.

No. VI.

CIVIC VIRTUES.

Having in the preceding numbers attempted a brief illustration of the physical and intellectual powers of Africans, with a view to an exhibition of their capacity for education, we shall close this branch of our subject by a few remarks on their civic virtues. The fidelity and attachment of African slaves to humane masters, is no less notorious than singular. Indeed our most graphic novelists, Cooper, Miss Sedgwick and others, have agreeably diversified their pictures of American life, by the introduction of them in those characters, when delineating the attractive features of domestic and patriarchal happiness.

The published travels of *Valliant*, *Bruce*, *Mungo Park*, *Clap-perton*, *Lander*, and other Europeans, are filled with testimonials of the humane dispositions of those African tribes that have been least contaminated by the licentious intercourse and corrupting examples of white men. Although traveling for scientific purposes, (matters incomprehensible to ignorant tribes,) and therefore calculated to awaken jealousy; and although probably preceded by vague rumors of cruelty of disposition; travelers in Africa have generally suffered more from self-imprudence and the effects of climate than from the hostility of the natives. One traveler, *Mungo Park*, has paid a lasting tribute to their humane virtues, by an acknowledgment that he was saved from perishing by hunger, by the assiduous kindness of a negress, while he has shown us the delicacy of their sentiments, by publishing a translation of the song with which they soothed the hours of his sickness. We are reminded in its perusal, of the most affecting songs of *Ossian*.

“The winds howled, and the rain fell: the poor white man, weary with fatigue, sits down under a tree: he has no mother to bring him milk, no woman to grind his corn.”

Chorus by the other women :

“Pity the poor white man: he has no mother to bring him milk, no woman to grind his corn.”

Toussaint Louverture, the celebrated chief of St. Domingo, whatever opinion may be entertained of his military and public conduct, during the horrible convulsions that preceded the extinguishment of the white man’s power in that devoted island, is acknowledged even by his bitterest enemies, to have exhibited in an eminent degree, the virtues that adorn private and domestic life. That elevation to wealth and power did not extinguish sentiments of respect and attachment, formed in the days of servitude, is evinced by the fact that in the reverse of their respective fortunes, he contributed pecuniary aid to his former master, for whom he had acted as a herdsman, supporting him during his residence in the United States, whither he had fled as a place of refuge. At a subsequent time, two of the sons of *Toussaint*, were educated at the Polytechnic school of Paris, and received commissions in the national army.

Whether these privileges were in reward of the civic virtues of the father, or that prejudice of color was destroyed in France by the consuming fire of their revolutionary furnace, we are not informed.

Instances almost innumerable, of humanity, generosity, fidelity, and all the civic virtues, might be cited from examples easily gathered in our neighboring slave states ; but as these moral qualities may possibly be denied by some, as evidence of intellectual powers, we will relieve ourselves from the labor of inquiry, and be content with quoting some passages from the writings of others. Ramsey, an author already mentioned, relates an affecting anecdote of *Joseph Rachel*, a black trader in Barbadoes, the substance of which is as follows. The character of Joseph in his dealings was so upright, and his readiness to oblige his patrons so untiring, that his shop attracted numerous customers. In 1756 a disastrous fire consumed a large part of the town, reducing many from affluence to sudden poverty. Joseph fortunately escaped the calamity. Among the sufferers, was a man, to whose family in early life Joseph owed obligations of gratitude for their kindness. This gentleman, by a careless hospitality, had embarrassed his estate, and as it consisted chiefly in houses, the fire completed his ruin. In this reverse of fortune, Joseph was not forgetful of the sentiments of gratitude. As the gentleman was largely indebted to him, both on bond and account, he had his books balanced, lighted his pipe with the bond, and with the mutilated remains in his hand, sought out the gentleman and presented him a receipt in full. But the generous gratitude of Joseph did not stop here. A long indulgence in profuse hospitality, could not yield instantly to changed circumstances and prudential considerations. A small post in the government was conferred on the gentleman, but economy was a lesson that he could not learn. In his exigencies, when his former associates called to visit him, his only resource was in his faithful friend ; nor was he ever disappointed. "Immediately, (says Ramsey,) the spermaceti candle, and punch, and wine of the best quality, were on the table, as if by magic ; and soon after Joseph's servants appeared, bringing in a neat supper, and waiting on the company. All this was done without a prospect of return, purely to indulge

his gratitude, and support his friend's credit. And will any pretend, (adds the relater,) to look down with contempt on one, capable of such generosity, because the color of his skin is black?"

Another case still more affecting, has been presented by the same writer. It is briefly as follows. *Quashi*, a West Indian negro, was brought up as a play-fellow of his master, and in childhood, when no artificial restraints checked the growth of the affections, a strong attachment was mutually formed. This attachment continued in after life, when the play-mate of Quashi's infant years had assumed the government of his plantation, and was manifested by the slave in a devoted regard to his master's interests. The master was always rigid and inexorable in the enforcement of the discipline established on his estate. Quashi at length was charged with the commission of some fault and threatened with the punishment of the cart whip. Hoping that the resentment of his master might subside after reflection, or that the intercession of a friend might procure his pardon, Quashi withdrew from the plantation to seek the aid of some kind advocate. The next day a feast was kept by his master in celebration of the birth day of a relative, and believing that in the good humor of the festival, his personal application might be sufficient to obtain forgiveness, he resolved to return and solicit it. At this crisis he was accidentally observed, and being pursued by his master, attempted to escape. His master overtook and seized him, when a struggle ensued in which Quashi obtained the victory, and having seated himself on the breast of his exhausted antagonist, drew a knife. In this dreadful situation of his master, Quashi addressed him. "Master, I was bred up with you from a child ; I was your play-mate when a boy ; I have loved you as myself ; your interest has been my study ; I am innocent of the cause of your suspicion ; had I been guilty, my attachment to you might have pleaded for me. Yet you have condemned me to a punishment, of which I must ever have borne the disgraceful marks ; thus only can I avoid them." With these words, he drew the knife across his own throat, and fell down dead, without a groan, on his master, bathing him in his blood.

Truly, in the exhibition of such heroic virtue, in the impulse of our admiration we feel disposed not only to pardon the suicide, but even to award him the honor of martyrdom.

We cannot better conclude this division of our subject than by a liberal extract from the writings of the accomplished Addison. In the Spectator, No. 215, he thus remarks. "Men's passions operate variously, and appear in different kinds of actions, according as they are more or less rectified and swayed by reason. When one hears of negroes, who, upon the death of their masters, or upon changing their service, hang themselves upon the next tree, as it frequently happens in our American plantations; who can forbear admiring their fidelity, though it expresses itself in so dreadful a manner? What might not that savage greatness of soul, which appears in these poor wretches on many occasions, be raised to, if rightly cultivated? And what color of excuse can there be for the contempt with which we treat this part of our species? that we should not put them upon the common footing of humanity; that we should only set an insignificant fine upon the man who should murder them; nay, that we should, as much as in us lies, cut them off from the prospects of happiness in another world as well as in this, and deny them that which we look upon the proper means for attaining it?

"Since I am engaged on this subject, I cannot forbear mentioning a story which I have lately heard, and which is so well attested that I have no manner of reason to suspect the truth of it. I may call it a kind of wild tragedy that passed about twelve years ago at St. Christopher's, one of our British Leeward Islands. The negroes, who were the persons concerned in it, were all of them the slaves of a gentleman who is now in England.

"This gentleman among his negroes had a young woman, who was looked upon as a most extraordinary beauty by those of her own complexion. He had at the same time two young fellows who were likewise negroes and slaves, remarkable for the comeliness of their persons, and for the friendship which they bore to one another. It unfortunately happened that both of them fell in love with the female negro above mentioned, who would have been very glad to have taken either of them

for her husband, provided they could agree between themselves which should be the man. But they were both so passionately in love with her, that neither of them could think of giving up to his rival ; and at the same time both were so true to one another, that neither of them would think of gaining her without his friend's consent. The torments of these two lovers were the discourse of the family to which they belonged, who could not forbear observing the strange complication of passions which perplexed the hearts of the poor negroes, that often dropped expressions of the uneasiness they underwent, and how impossible it was for either of them to be happy.

“ After a long struggle between love and friendship, truth and jealousy, they one day took a walk together into a wood, carrying their mistress along with them ; when, after abundance of lamentations, they stabbed her to the heart, of which she immediately died. A slave, who was at work not far from the place where this astonishing piece of cruelty was committed, hearing the shrieks of the dying person, ran to see what was the occasion of them. He there discovered the woman lying dead upon the ground, with the two negroes on each side of her, kissing the corpse, weeping over it, and beating their breasts in the utmost agonies of grief and despair. He immediately ran to the English family with the news of what he had seen ; who, upon coming to the place, saw the woman dead, and the two negroes expiring by her, with wounds they had given themselves.

“ We see in this amazing instance of barbarity what strange disorders are bred in the minds of those men whose passions are not regulated by virtue, and disciplined by reason. Though the action which I have recited is in itself full of guilt and horror, it proceeded from a temper of mind which might have produced very noble fruits had it been informed and guided by a suitable education.”

To this concluding opinion of Mr. Addison, we shall only add the confirmatory testimony of the writer of an anonymous work, entitled “ Six months in the West Indies, in 1825.” We are informed by a gentleman formerly a resident in the West Indies, that the author is Mr. Coleridge, nephew of the

then newly appointed Bishop of several of the British Islands, and that in pursuit of health and information, he accompanied his kinsman on his first Episcopal visitation of his Diocese. His book however is sufficiently commended by its wit, vivacity and sound sense.

Mr. Coleridge says, "We all profess an intention of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and a wish to raise them ultimately to an equality with the rest of the citizens of the empire. The dispute is about the means. Now unless we are infatuated by the mere sound of a word, we must acknowledge that the power of doing whatsoever a man pleases, if unaccompanied with some moral stimulus which shall insure habitual industry and correct the profligate propensities of savage nature, is so far from being a step in advance that it is rather a stride backwards ; instead of being a blessing, it is plainly a curse. The body of the slave population do not at present possess this moral stimulus. Emancipation therefore would not put them in the road to become good citizens.

"What must be done then? manifestly this one single thing ; we must create a *moral* cause, in order to be able to abolish the *physical* cause of labor ; we must bring the motives which induce an English rustic to labor, to bear upon the negro ; when the negro peasant will work regularly like the white peasant, then he ought to be as free."

Recent events in the West Indies will soon enable us to determine, whether education has been sufficiently diffused and moral stimulants sufficiently powerful are operating among their slaves, to fit them for immediate emancipation. Every benevolent man will be gratified, if the result shall show that the zeal of an ardent philanthropy, has not overleaped the barriers of prudence.

No. VII.

It may be said that we have cited but few examples of African intellect, to prove the capacity of a numerous race, and some even of those of no very extraordinary weight. We reply, that our object has been to illustrate our positions by refer-

ring to instances chiefly gathered from American annals, and that claim belief from personal knowledge or authentic traditionary evidence, rather than to explore the vast and uncertain field of African history. Similar examples to those that have been noted, with more inquiry and examination, might, without doubt, have been greatly multiplied ; but the labor of collecting the scattered memorials of an enslaved and ignorant race, whose virtues and native talents have only occasionally attracted the attention of the benevolent, and are to be found chiefly in newspapers and pamphlets, the most perishable of all records, added to the limits necessarily regarded in a mere essay, have controlled the writer. Situated as a slave population must always be, even if some favored few of the number possessed the requisite opportunities and talents, to become the historians of their brethren, the task would have but few attractions, and might subject those who performed it to punishment, as the promulgators of dangerous knowledge. Under such circumstances, when a single well authenticated example of great virtue or striking talents is exhibited, it ought, in honest judgment, to overbalance a thousand deficiencies ; for if without culture, we find in a wild and neglected soil, that some "verdure quickens," and some "salutary plants take root," ought we not to consider such unexpected appearances as inducements for tillage, rather than abandon the field because weeds, still more numerous, grow in ranker luxuriance. All vegetables, even those most useful for the nourishment of man, are comparatively, in their native state, ill favored and coarse in texture, and until man has performed his destined task, and by toil, and labor, and the sweat of his brow, brought them to perfection, are ill adapted for nutritious and healthy aliment. To continue our illustration from the vegetable and natural world ; the botanist no otherwise regards the soil in which herbs, useful in medicine or valuable in the arts, may be discovered, than as indicating their habitudes and guiding the application of his skill in their improvement. The miner finds the precious metal for which he seeks scattered in crude particles among masses of rubbish ; but when patient industry and the purifying furnace have performed their office, he is rewarded

by a golden harvest ; the lapidary perceives beneath the rough coat of some apparently worthless pebble, the brilliant gem, that, when polished by his skill, is destined to adorn the coronet of a prince or sparkle on the bosom of beauty. The philanthropist, nay, the upright man, will not account ignorance as a fault, when the avenues to knowledge are sealed up ; nor will he, if perchance some intellect of peculiar energy, breaks through the palpable darkness that rests on unfortunate Africa, with a cold and heartless philosophy, use its light only to survey with a more accurate scrutiny, the degradation of its origin ; he will rather exult in every new proof, that no nation in the great family of mankind, sprung as they all are from a common parentage, and fashioned in the image of their Creator, no matter how ignorant and no matter how debased, is incapable of moral and intellectual elevation. A man of benevolence will not dwell on physical differences and denounce a nation as deficient in mental powers, because his sense of smell detects in them an offensive peculiarity ; a reason, by the bye, that if true, might sink the proud white man below our Indians. Major Long, in his "Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," mentions that some remote tribes do not use salt with their food, that their tears are fresh, and that they complain of a disagreeable odor that proceeds from the skin of the whites.

Nor will any fair judge be led to such infallible conclusions, by the theories of physiognomists or phrenologists, as to reject palpable and well established testimony. He will neither map out the empire of intellect by a "facial line," like some, nor take guage of the mind by the thickness of the cranium, like others ; but justly reflecting, that as there be men with thick skulls, and men with thin skulls, and men with middling thick skulls, and men with middling thin skulls, who yet are not remarkable for talents, so there may be men of the highest grade of intellect, who of necessity must possess one or another of these physical formations.

But without dwelling further on the intellectual powers of Africans, the writer refers the reader who is curious to pursue the investigation, to the admirable Treatise of H. Gregoire, published in 1810, a work as replete in just and benevolent

sentiments as it is in the fruits of great industry and profound learning, and in all respects worthy of an author who is styled by his American translator, D. B. Warden, Esq. "a man of great erudition and rare virtues, well known in the religious, political and learned societies of different countries."

Most of the early efforts of the friends of Africa in this country, were confined to the abolition of the traffic in slaves, by prohibiting any further importations. In this office of benevolence, the parent society of Pennsylvania, seconded by auxiliary societies in all the states north of and including Virginia, were eminently successful, and at this day it is rare to find in christendom, an intelligent man, professing any decent regard to even the elements of a lax morality, who dares to advocate the slave trade. Occupied as they were, in endeavors to check the further growth of an alarming evil, they did not direct their energies so much to the emancipation of slaves already held in bondage, as to the melioration of their condition, and the diffusion of such practical knowledge as might eventually fit them for freedom. It is true that Quakers, who, to their honor be it said, are always found among the pioneers in every scheme of philanthropy, manumitted their slaves, and the Methodists for a while made it an article in their creed of religious practice, to adopt the same course. To the numerous manumissions made by the Methodists, is owing a large portion of the free people of color in the slaves states. But the practical effects of this obedience to what was esteemed a moral duty, were soon visible in the corrupted characters of the manumitted slaves, and the contagious influence exerted by them over those in bondage. It was perceived, that, without education and without incentives to ambition, with a boundary line drawn by prejudice, but as impassable as if it had been established by justice, between the whites and the blacks, mere liberty, without change of habitation, was fruitful in crime, but rarely productive of happiness. This result of an experiment, originating in benevolence, convinced both the Methodists and others of similar sentiments, that different means must be adopted to meliorate the condition, I may add, to do justice to Africans. It may be remarked in confirmation of the above, that David Raymond, Esq. of Baltimore, in a pamphlet published during the agitation of the

Missouri question, has shown conclusively, from statistical accounts, that in proportion to their numbers our slave population increases more rapidly than the whites, while among the free blacks there is an actual decrease. This dreadful result arises from the appalling influence of the worst calamities—want of proper food and clothing—want of employment—want of moral energy, and a consciousness of debasement that renders them reckless of the future. Do we then give a boon to Africans by offering them unqualified liberty, when without previous instruction for its enjoyment, an acceptance of the gift must be at the sacrifice of life? So far as personal good treatment and kind usage can mitigate the misery of slavery, I fully believe that the lot of American slaves has been cast among a humane people, and instead of joining in odious denunciations against our southern brethren, I feel rather disposed to sympathise with them in the existence of an evil, which in its inception was alike profitable to the north and the south, but in its result is calamitous only to the latter. There is, however, something wanting beyond merely humane treatment, to reconcile us to slavery. The sting of slavery is in the mind, in the corroding consciousness, that though “all men are created free and equal,” human injustice has counteracted the beneficence of the Deity, and that our volitions and actions are arbitrarily subject to the caprice and control of others. The enlisted soldier and sailor undergo all hardships and perils cheerfully, while the conscript and impressed mariner are continually unhappy. The most arduous toils of the plantation, bear no comparison to the sufferings of an arctic voyage, but the subjugated mind sinks under the former, while the free spirit of the sailor gallantly bears him up with the consciousness that it is his duty to perform a service to which he is bound by a voluntary and independent pledge.

I will not make any further allusion or answer, to the pretended sanction of religion in favor of slavery, which has been impiously urged by some of its apologists, than to observe, that throughout the scriptures slavery and liberty are used as strong figurative expressions to denote happiness or misery, as “the slavery of sin,” and “the glorious liberty of the gospel.”

It is true that the Almighty has allowed the existence of slavery as a punishment of national sins, but the fate of Pharaoh and his hosts, and the plagues that visited Egypt, do not prove that the instruments of wrath are always the favorites of heaven. In truth, as no event can occur without divine permission, the reasoning alluded to, would form the ready justification of every atrocious crime.

But let us briefly examine a remedy for the existing evil, and ascertain if possible, whether it can be removed, having just regard to the rights of humanity and the ultimate happiness and security both of master and slave. And first, can the slaves be gradually or immediately emancipated and amalgamate as citizens with our white population? To this inquiry facts authorize a ready answer in the negative. Some objections have been casually mentioned in the progress of this essay, to which the following may be added.

First. In their state of ignorance produced by protracted slavery, they would be unable to compete with white laborers, or obtain means of personal support.

Second. The aged, decrepid and helpless would become a severe burthen to the state, instead of being supported by masters who had enjoyed the profits of their vigorous days.

Third. Either the emancipated slaves must roam abroad, depending for support on accidental and casual employment, or on more desperate means. The latter would probably be a common resort, as hunger and want would readily persuade them that it was not wrong to retaliate by robbing *those* who had held *them* in unjust bondage.

Fourth. Without being educated they would soon degenerate into a ferocious banditti, and instead of awakening the sympathy of the whites would excite their vengeance.

Fifth. The expense of education would be too burthensome for the white population, even if the blacks, when left to their own discretion, should feel disposed to submit to the discipline of schools.

Sixth. A feeling of self-degradation would deaden the energies of the mind, and render it incapable of improvement in the midst of a white community.

Seventh. The constitutions of several states, and of the United States, have denied them the privilege of the elective franchise, or of eligibility to political power.

Eighth. They would be subjected to taxation, and all the onerous duties of citizens, without representation.

Ninth. So far has experience shown that their condition has not been essentially improved by freedom, when continuing to reside among the whites, that in the recently modified constitutions of New York and Connecticut, they are disqualified as voters, although they formerly possessed the privilege.

Tenth. They are prohibited by the laws of several states, from coming from other states to reside in their territories, even for the purpose of education ; nor do those laws remain as dead letter in the statute books, as Prudence Crandall was recently imprisoned for violating the Connecticut law on that subject.

Eleventh. At one of the largest city meetings ever held in New Haven, specially called by the city authorities to consider the subject, resolutions of the strongest character were passed, protesting against the scheme of establishing in the city a college, for the education of colored people, that had been devised by some gentlemen. It is not necessary to offer any opinion on the subject, as this case probably led to the enactment of the law under which Miss Crandall was imprisoned, and is referred to, only to show how strongly our most intelligent citizens are prejudiced against a mixture of the two classes of population.

Twelfth. Although in a majority of the northern states, colored men are nominally eligible to office, yet prejudice is so powerful, that their abstract right is worthless. An insulated case, however, I have understood occurred some years ago in New Hampshire, where a colored man was elected a member of the Legislature, and by the exercise of good sense and sound judgment, acquired considerable influence.

Thirteenth. No amalgamation producing an unity of feeling and identity of interest, can take place, until difference of complexion is obliterated by intermarriages. It need hardly be said that this plan is not feasible, even if it were desirable. Prejudices existing in relation to complexion are so strong, that the

mission school at Cornwall was broken up, in consequence of violations of public sensibility in that particular. And yet the disrelish for Indian alliances is by no means as strong as exists in regard to Africans. The *Randolphs* of Virginia are proud of the blood of *Pocahontas*, and their white kindred do not feel ashamed to acknowledge the descendants of *Eunice Williams*. Mr. *Crawford* strongly commended the practice in an official report to Congress as a means of civilizing and christianizing the natives, and from the earliest settlement of the western country, the French, Spanish, and other European residents, were accustomed to form such alliances. Still the prejudice exists, and we are warranted in believing will never be conquered; but if unconquerable with regard to Indians, how remote from possibility in relation to Africans.

Fourteenth. So impassable is the barrier erected by public sentiment between those of different complexions, that they cannot repose in the same bed, drink from the same cup, or eat at the same table; nay, beyond all this, it is found even in the regulations of our sanctuaries of worship; for although worshiping the same God and equal participants in the blood of the same Redeemer, they occupy separate seats during the ordinary service, and do not mingle even in the celebration of the sacramental supper. At a camp meeting in one of the slaves states, I once observed a singular arrangement, with regard to the fenced inclosure designed to receive converts. It is usually styled, in the figurative language of the scriptures, the sheep pen, alluding to the separation of the sheep from the goats. On the occasion referred to, there were *two* inclosures, one for white, the other for colored converts. And yet this arrangement was made by Methodists, a sect of christians, (perhaps, with the exception of Quakers,) less restrained by ceremony, and, if the expression is allowable, more democratic in their worship than any other denomination. In the particular case alluded to, they were undoubtedly influenced by public sentiment or prejudice. The anecdote related of Mr. Haines, the colored clergyman of Vermont, who has already been spoken of as an able preacher, is similar in illustration. It is said, that among the grounds of dissatisfaction, that produced eventually a separation from his first pastoral charge, his complex-

ion was urged as an objection against him. When this was mentioned to him by one of his friends, he calmly observed that he had been settled over the parish for nearly twenty years and it was surprising that the congregation had just then discovered that he was a colored man. Without vouching for the entire accuracy of the anecdote, it may be remarked, that if it be true, the growth of the place, and more intercourse with the world, had affected them with pride and prejudice unknown in their infant simplicity.

No. VIII.

Another obstacle in the way of those who embark in the cause of Africans, is not very creditable to human nature; but its existence must be acknowledged, I should think, by every candid man. The cause of colonization is simply based on benevolence and justice, and therefore receives a lukewarm support. It is lacking in the glare, the pomp, the artificial pageantry, that belong to charities regulated by the fashions of polished life. We can read with intense interest the history of *Caspar Hauser*, the German youth, who had been inhumanly buried from his infancy in a narrow dungeon;—we can philosophize on the gradual developement of faculties thus cruelly shrouded in darkness; we can applaud the generosity of *Lord Stanhope*, in becoming his patron, and we can weep over the account of his assassination,—perhaps Caspar was born a nobleman! We can peruse with eager avidity the account of the wild man of Poland, and of him who was discovered in the forest of Orleans in France; the deaf, the dumb, and the blind, all awake, and justly too, our sympathy, and stimulate our generosity; we can accompany *Dugald Stewart* in his philosophic investigations into the extent and nature of their remaining mental powers;—we feel an interest in the fate and actions of the girl in the Hartford Assylum, who is the unfortunate victim of those combined calamities; we can greet almost with civic honors, the warrior *Black Hawk*, with his scalping knife hardly yet cleansed from the blood of his victims,—but he is a sachem; nay, we can go farther, we can

open our purses and contribute liberally to purchase the freedom of Hamet Abduhl, a colored man, and his family, from their master in Tennessee, because forsooth, it was discovered in his old age, and after years of servitude, that he was born an African Prince, and was entitled by lineal descent, to a coronet in his native land. These matters are alluded to, in no spirit of splenetic censure, for they do not deserve it; but to show how much more eager we are, to pursue schemes of ostentatious and fashionable benevolence, than to expend our means in simple obedience to christian duty. Although we know and ought to believe that when our our alms are "given in secret," the God who seeth in secret, will reward us openly; yet as if distrustful of the promise, we seem anxious to secure some proof, by letting "the left hand know what the right hand doeth;" and to make certain in any event, of some temporal applause, are too prone, to "sound a trumpet before us," "as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may be seen of men." The extent of this spirit is manifested by the fact, that in our best and most important institutions of benevolence, rank and station are held out as lures, and the highest offices may be purchased, without regard to fitness or other considerations, by paying established prices. However pardonable such practices may be in works of charity, it must be confessed, that it savors somewhat of the doctrine of *Hobbs*, "that the end justifies the means," and evidently shows a decided preference of the rich man's gift, to the widow's mite. Such usage in ecclesiastical concerns would be called "*simony*;" in the business of a lawyer, "*champerty and maintenance*;" and in political transactions, "*bribery and corruption*." It is believed, however, that even pride, that questionable stimulant of true charity, will not long be wanting to further the cause of colonization. As literature and the arts begin to expand and flourish in Liberia, as books and newspapers, well conducted by colored editors, like Russworm and others, begin to disclose the resources of an embryo empire, and perchance, so spread a knowledge of the *names* and good deeds of their American benefactors among the distant and unknown regions of Africa; it is not improbable, that our vanity may be awakened, and that an emulous ambition may

spur us onward with more eagerness in the path of duty. Then and then only, when honors begin to flow from African applause, will prejudice begin to melt away. When that time arrives, a philanthropist like *John Hancock*, the President of the immortal Congress that declared our independence, may witness with benevolent feelings, the pastimes of negroes, without exciting the ridicule of the witty editors of the "Echo," or subjecting himself to the satire of their caricature engravers; these gifted men, like *Randolph* of *Roanoke*, whatever may be the faults and eccentricities of their characters, will at least, not incur as he did, the sneers of heartless witlings, for honoring with his confidence the warm attachment and tried fidelity of *Juba*. So long however, as the Africans continue to dwell in the land of their captors, I am persuaded that such "a happy issue out of their calamities" will not take place. Their ingathering and their New Jerusalem must be in the land of their fathers. If emancipated, in the grossness of their ignorance, and doomed to the continual irritations of the white man's contempt, I doubt not they would soon, not only realize the premises, but adopt the desperate conclusions of *Shylock*: "I am a Jew: hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt by the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? if you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? if we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? revenge; if a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? why, revenge. The villainy you teach me, I will execute; and it shall go hard, but I will better the instruction."

Shakspeare does not put this language in the mouth of a legal slave, let us remember, but of one whose social feelings were destroyed and his heart hardened by unjust prejudice. Equality, not nominal, but real and acknowledged, and exemplified in practice as well as based on right, is essential to the elevation of the character of man. Let us illustrate the position a little farther.

The human mind will rarely struggle for superiority where success is almost impossible, and yet none are so degraded by circumstances, as to be beyond the incitements of ambition when stimulated by hope. New Holland was for many years the corrupt sink into which the felony of England was annually drained off,—a loathsome Golgotha, filled with the amputated refuse of society. To the astonishment of those who looked on it as the abandoned field of moral desolation, it has recently begun to exhibit the aspect of a vigorous and enlightened colony, flourishing in agriculture, trade, manufactures and the arts, regulated by a rigid but salutary police, encouraging industry, and attracting to its shores by its advantages, the emigration of the virtuous, the enterprising, and the wealthy. What, we inquire, has produced this wonderful result? Equality, and that alone, is the magic charm; for liberty without equality is but as “sounding brass, and a tinkling cymbal.” Equality of rights, of hopes; nay, of degradation, of crimes! equality, that silenced reproach, because all deserved it, has raised the felon colony of Botany Bay to rank and consideration. It was the same equality, that, in ancient days, enabled Romulus to attract to his standard a barbarian horde, composed of the proscribed and fugitive criminals of all nations, and to lay the foundations of imperial Rome.

Do not these examples show, that consciousness of equality is the true mode to elevate men in the scale of dignity, and are they not animating incentives to the friends of colonization, the wisest and best friends, I do sincerely believe, of the African race? In their case, experiments are not made on criminals selected for their atrocity. No military guard and severe task-masters are placed over them, to aggravate the pains of exile; no vindictive eye watches their movements,—but cherished and fostered by an atoning humanity, that seeks to obliterate the memory of past injustice by deeds of kindness, the knowledge and protecting power of the white man, become, in a sense, tributary to the wants of the black. Nay, beyond all this, they are placed in possession of the heritage of their fathers, the natives around them are of their own blood, and their own color, to whom, after the lapse of many

generations, they return, bringing with them from distant climes, arts, science, civilization and religion.

When we view the progress already made, with comparatively feeble means, in the great work of colonization, and consider the present favorable condition of Liberia, we cannot deem it beyond the limits of human probability, and certainly not beyond the limits of fervent and confiding hope, that at no very remote period in the history of the world, Africa, "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled," will take an equal and just rank in the family of mankind ; that, roused from the death-like sleep of ages, vigorous in the growth of every virtue that adds dignity to character, and rich in every treasure that can conduce to human happiness, the descendants of a despised and degraded race, will enter the field of intellectual competition with the most favored of the world. When that period arrives, we can well imagine with what enthusiasm and outpourings of gratitude, days set apart in their national calendar to perpetuate the memory of the benevolent advocates of their race, in the gloom of their captivity, will be celebrated. But I cannot but believe, that even in their aspirations of gratitude, they would mourn over the delusions of those misled zealots, who had persuaded a remnant of their brethren to refuse the gift of mental emancipation, by remaining in the land of captivity, nominally free, but in degradation worse than slaves.

But against all these suggestions of humanity and duty, the appalling objection is urged ;--the plan of colonization may be benevolent, but the resources of the country are inadequate to its accomplishment. Is this objection so truly formidable that it ought to arrest our efforts, or is it not the offspring of timid apprehension, or of covert hostility ? That the colonization of 2,000,000 of slaves must be a matter of great expense, is obvious ; but that it is not feasible, is denied.

1st. For many years the annual importations for the supply of the British American colonies, before the abolition of the trade, was 100,000 per annum. A much smaller effort to advance the cause of justice, than has been shown in the pursuits of avarice, would soon greatly mitigate the evil in the United States, and eventually eradicate it.

2d. The expense of purchase would be saved, as sufficient numbers could be obtained by voluntary emancipation.

3d. The maritime power of the nation could be employed in the protection of the colony if necessary, without any addition to public expenditures, and the national treasury, that will soon be relieved from any debt, might equitably aid in atoning for injustice, in the guilt of which the whole nation is involved.

4th. If the colony became flourishing and prosperous, every year would increase the motives for emigration among our colored population;—the desire to join their kindred in a happier region,—the incitements of gain,—of honorable ambition based on independence,—the love of political power, the future prospects of their children, and in short, every consideration that can affect the human mind.

5th. Pride would stimulate many to earn, by greater industry, the means of removal and final settlement, independent of the aid of others.

6th. In a few years, Liberia itself might so increase its shipping, as to become carriers of their emigrating kindred.

7th. As the first emigrants would be composed of the healthy and vigorous, a check to domestic increase would take place, and as the aged and decrepid died off, there would be a reduced number of children to supply their numbers.

8th. Thus far, no desolating wars or sweeping diseases have retarded the growth of the colony; and as no prejudice of complexion exists to provoke hostility, and their superior intelligence is salutary to the surrounding tribes, little is to be apprehended from the former, while they readily overcome the temporary influence of the climate.

9th. They will emigrate to a region far better adapted to their present safety and comfort, than the wilds of America were to the first European settlers, and instead of being driven there by a persecuting spirit, be led thither by kind and benevolent protectors, and fostered in their political infancy by their power.

10th. An emigration to any new country is always attended with expense and hardship, but such facts should not deter us from the path of duty. Although *Penn* is said to have died in prison, he left to the State that he founded, a noble legacy in

his example, and his name and his virtues will live in imperishable remembrance.

11th. Moral results favorably affecting American commerce may rationally be expected. The many endearing ties arising from kindred will keep alive an attachment to America during the progress of emancipation, and a grateful sense of voluntary reparation, will obliterate the recollection of past injustice.

12th. The attachment of colored men to nautical pursuits, has been already incidentally mentioned; if examples were necessary, reference might be made to the success of Paul Cuffee, Prince Sanders and others. This circumstance would be important in furthering the interests of the colony.

13th. It is not improbable from the above brief considerations, that a profitable and favored commerce may eventually be established between America and Africa, and that for the expenditures of *justice* we may ultimately reap the fourfold returns of *charity*.

We conclude our remarks by expressing a fervent wish, that the day may not be far distant, when many African bards may wake the notes of gratulation and praise, in heartfelt compliment to their American friends; and if need be, that like *Francis Williams*, the black poet of Jamaica, in his ode addressed to George Holdane, Esq. the Governor, they may be able to clothe their sentiments in Latin, the scientific language of all nations.

“ Hoc demum accipias multa fuligine fusum,
Ore souaturo; non cute, corde valet.
Pollenti stabilita manu, Deus almus, eandem,
Omnigenis animam, nil prohibente dedit.
Ipsa coloris egens virtus, prudentia; honesto
Nullus inest animo, nullus in arte color.”

AS TRANSLATED.

“ Yet may you deign to accept this humble song,
Tho' wrapt in gloom, and from a faltering tongue;
Tho' dark the stream on which the tribute flows,
Not from the skin, but from the heart it rose.
To all of human kind, benignant heaven,
(Since nought forbids) one common soul has given.
This rule was 'established by the eternal mind;
Nor virtue's self, nor prudence are confir'd,
To color; none imbues the honest heart;
To science none belongs, and none to art,” &c.